various holes as large as a hand. Thus in comparison with a Central 792
Asian duvana, Antisthenes and his pupil Diogenes would look like absolute dandies. These khalats, torn and ragged to the point of indecency, are likewise part of the uniform of the duvana; for I have noticed more than once, upon closer inspection, that even when the duvana wore a new khalat, it was completely covered with rags, visibly sewn on, to create the appearance of being damaged. Shirts and any sort of underwear are usually completely absent among the duvanas. Their feet either remain completely bare winter and summer, or else they wear /198/ enormous clumsy slippers of the kind of the famous slippers of the Bagdad merchant Kazem, which in their time brought their master so many thrashings and similar troubles.

The 'ishans' play an entirely different role than the duvanas. Their number is much smaller than that of the duvanas, and many travelers mistakenly take them for Moslem clerics. Actual clergy, in the manner of the Christian church, does not exist among the Moslems at all, as is well known. The mullahs are nothing more than scribes and prayer leaders in the mosques, whose function can be taken over by any proper Moslem without the need of some higher authorization. The ishans are men who, like the duvanas, prefer a parasitic life at the expense of the believers to honorable labor, but at the same time they are too proud and genteel to attach themselves to the duvanas. They are usually men who have seen better days, but have squandered their fortunes in one way or another. They claim to have a monopoly on special piety and holiness, establish themselves beside some mosque or at the grave of an ostensible saint, and pass their free time with a sort of rosary in their hands in outward prayer, at which time they choose by predilection a position where they can be seen by everyone. Since of course the ishans have no time to earn their livelihood, because they pray aloud, their fellow religionists make sure that they lack for nothing, for they believe that they are building themselves a stairway to heaven by the support of such men who are enlightened by God. Thus the ishans lead a comfortable and untroubled life, clothe themselves in the finest materials of some striking color especially red or white, and keep servants and horses. At all festivities and banquets they are given the first place, and at the common prayers they are given the honorary office of the leader of the prayers.

Among the Moslems of Central Asia, a privileged position is 788
enjoyed also by all those who have made a pilgrimage to the grave of the prophet in Mecca. Here also these men bear the title of 'hadji'

and have the special right to wear white khalats. The number of pilgrims to Mecca is relatively small in Turkestan as a result of the great distance and the difficulty of communications. Usually these pilgrims make their way across Afghanistan and India, and they usually need one or two years for the journey, during which time a large number of them perish either from cholera or other diseases, or as a result of hardships and privations and attacks by robbers. In more recent times, those in more recent times, those in better circumstances choose a more convenient route across Russia and via the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

/199/ The alleged descendants of Mohammed, who likewise enjoy a favored position, are designated in Turkestan as 'hodjas'. These are rather numerous, intermarry whenever possible, and therefore constitute a kind of spiritual aristocracy. /Figure 70, p. 40a. Caption: The Gur-Emir mosque with the grave of Tamerlane in Samarkand./ One finds the jodjas in /200/ all possible positions in life, as mullahs (Figure 81, p. 225, p. 59a), tradespeople, craftsmen and peasants. They are probably in reality the descendants of the Arabic conquerors.

In addition to the fortuitous gifts bestowed by the believers upon the duvanas, ishans and other religious parasites, their support is also sought through a large number of pious institutions, designated as 'wakf'. By wakf is meant in Moslem countries, all property in mortmain which has been established partly by God-fearing princes, partly by wealthy private individuals for the support of mosques, medreses, cloisters, baths, leper houses, wells, and for poor scholars and students and the like. /Figure 71, p. 40b. Caption: The Hasret mosque in the town of Turkestan./ The wakf property consists partly of landed property, partly of buildings, bazaar booths, caravansaries, mills, etc., and it is managed by special officials, the 'mutevals', who are in charge of the expenditure of the income from the various institutions in accordance with the will of the founder. The wakf institutions are exempt from all taxes and tributes. When one reflects that, in Turkestan, aside from the constant occasional payments to the duvanas, ishans, and mullahs, a third of the entire land property and national wealth has fallen to the wakf, then one can /201/ easily calculate how great a percentage of the entire population is made up of mullahs, duvanas and ishans, living exclusively at the expense of the working classes, who alone must defray all the state expenditures in addition to this.

741 In the Russian dominions of Central Asia the management of the wakf possessions has been taken over by the Russian authorities, but they use the income in the traditional manner for religious purposes. /Figure 72, p. 41a. Caption: Maxim mosque in Tashkent./

771 788 In spite of the willingness which the Central Asian Moslems disclose everywhere to make sacrifices for religious ends, their religiosity really lies only in externals; in the giving of alms, and in the strictest possible observance of all the other external religious practices prescribed by the Koran, exactly as it once was with the Jewish Pharisees. They perform their endless ablutions precisely before each prayer, before each prayer, before and after every meal, after every natural function of the body, if necessary even in the middle of the street, and I have never seen a Moslem omit his morning or evening prayer. Even on a journey in the worst weather and the most terrible mud they kneel in the middle of the road and say their prayer at sunrise /202/ and sunset without taking any notice of anything. Even when they are in the midst of the most heated battle, when the hour of prayer is proclaimed they cease hostilities at once, only to start up again with renewed strength after the prayers are over. But at the same time, this is all there is to it. They consider it completely irrelevant that along with this they allow themselves every kind of betrayal and cheating of their fellowman, especially if he is of another faith or a Kafir, and indulge in secret in the most wicked vices and debauchery as long as the decorum is maintained and nothing is brought out into the open.

796 The Moslems have no regularly recurring holidays like our Sundays. They have only three great festivals a year, each of which is celebrated for several days; otherwise, however, every day is like any other. Only on Fridays the men gather in the morning at the mosque for the group prayer, but afterwards they go about their work and their business as on every other weekday.

368 576 The mosques are not regarded as houses of God, as they are by the Christians, but are no more than places of assembly. Therefore the Moslems do not find it strange to have their mosques visited by non-believers. On my journeys in Bukhara, which is very orthodox, mosques were assigned to me as the preferred place for me to live in during the length of my stay, if no better place were forthcoming. Also the fact that the Moslems remove their shoes before entering a mosque has no religious basis, but is based on the universal custom, conditioned by the regard for cleanliness, of removing the outer foot-

346 garden of greater or smaller size with a pond in the middle at which Moslem visitors to the mosque make their prescribed ablutions before the prayers, if they have not already done so at home. These mosque courtyards form a favorite meeting place for all the residents whose only task in life consists in an unbroken delightful idleness, but who consider it beneath their dignity to loiter about with the younger men
793 at the bazaar and in the tea shops. At every mosque there is an 'imam' or permanent leader of prayers, with an assistant, who bears the title of 'sufi,' as well as a caller, endowed with a powerful voice, who must announce from the minaret of the mosque (Figure 74) the time of the morning and evening prayers and at the same time the curfew hour for the public houses. None of these ordinarily receives any regular salary. Instead, voluntary gifts are received, at the time of the high festivals from the vistors of the mosque in question, and at harvest time they are given a specified part of the fruit of the earth.

● 788 During the group prayers, inside the mosque as well as outside, the participants arrange themselves in rank and file like a detachment of soldiers, while the prayer leader (imam) is at the front in order to be visible to everyone. During the prayer people stand and kneel in rapid succession /205/ and touch the ground with the forehead from time to time; all these movements, to which are added various manipulations of the hands, are made first by the prayer leader and then imitated by the entire group, as though by command. This makes an extremely comical impression upon the non-participants, for the whole thing resembles an exercise in callisthenics more than a religious act, the more so since it all proceeds in deathly silence, for
[562] the prayers are not spoken aloud. Women may not participate in such common prayers nor visit the mosques. /Figure 74, p. 43a. Caption: The Minaret of Madamin Hodja in Khiva./

785 The Moslem fasts, which last all through the month of Ramadan, and are designated as 'urza', are completely different from the Christian fasts. They do not consist in abstinence from meat nor of moderation in eating, but instead in the prohibition of food or drink from sunrise to sundown, including even a drink of water. The Moslems are so strict in this connection that they do not even permit themselves to bathe fro some water could get into the body unintentionally through the nose or the ears. It can be easily seen that the observance of such strict fasts, especially during the burning heat of Turkestan, is no trivial thing. But scarcely has the sun set and the evening prayer is finished, before a solemn banquet begins with singing and dancing, a

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798 Latin in the late 1920's, and again from Latin to Cyrillic ten years later),
212 the impounding of religious texts, including the Qur'an, and the total cessation of all publication of a religious nature. These antireligious policies would of themselves make an active religious life most difficult.

795 The interviews, however, indicate that equally important in hampering
735 the religious life of Central Asian Islam are forces not directly connected
177 with the Communist antireligious policies, such as the general impoverishment of the population, which compels the inhabitants to devote all their time and energies to attain bare survival, and leaves little freedom for time-consuming actions required by religion; the shortage of animals used in certain Muslim festivals; and the requirements of a highly dynamic society, geared primarily for production and not for the satisfaction of
[793] the needs of its citizens. If, despite such formidable difficulties, Islamic practices have not altogether vanished from Central Asia, the reason must be sought both in the great hold which this religion exercises on its followers (Bartold had once observed that history knows many cases of mass conversion *to* Islam, but not a single instance of a society being converted *from* Islam), and the secondary role of leaders and institutions in that religion; the latter factor permits Muslims, like the Jews, to survive better under extreme oppression than other religions for which the clergy, the hierarchy, the supreme spiritual authority are essential.

• 788 One of the most important — perhaps the single most important — ele-
177 ment in the Muslim ritual are the five daily prayers. This practice seems
[687] to have declined among Soviet Muslims to such an extent as to have all but vanished. The principal cause for its disappearance is the inability of Soviet Muslims to take time off from work in order to recite the prayers; such stoppage of work is considered "economic sabotage" and involves serious retribution. The fact that since the 1930's Friday — the day of rest and public prayer — is considered a regular working day in Central Asia prevents the adult population from engaging in communal worship as well. The only times of the day when a Muslim may perform his prayers undisturbed occur at sunrise and at sunset — the first and the last of the daily prayers; that is, when he is at home, with his family. This is the reason why, to the extent that the daily prayer is observed at all, it survives largely among that part of the population which is not gainfully employed: above all, the women and the elders.

788 The younger generation is further handicapped by its ignorance of the
869 prayers. Only a few of the refugees interviewed knew how to perform the
177 regular daily prayers; none of those belonged to the younger generation. It may also be added that not one of these refugees had cared to learn the prayers since his arrival in the West.

785 Another important duty of Muslims is to observe daytime fasting during the entire 28 days of the month of Ramazan. Prior to 1917 the fast was

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782 796 177 233 *sovkhozy* (state farms) — four-fifths, according to the Soviet Encyclopedia — which do not release them for religious purposes, but the over-all number of sheep and goats in Turkestan has declined from 3 per native in 1913 to approximately 1.5 per native in 1938. Compromises and subterfuges are resorted to to overcome this difficulty. In some collective farms the sheep are stolen or slaughtered under one pretext or another, often with the tacit acquiescence of the collective's chairman. In the cities, the well-to-do purchase sheep on the free market, while the less affluent either enter into partnerships with other families to purchase and divide one ram, or else, if they are even too poor for that, sacrifice a chicken instead. The *kurban bayram* seems to be observed less publicly than in pre-Revolutionary years, and usually only in the circle of the immediate family, "with the windows shut and the doors locked," as several refugees put it.

735 177 The third fundamental Muslim duty is that of regular alms giving, known as *zakat*, traditionally set at 2.5 percent of earnings. In Central Asia the *zakat* had lost even before the Russian conquest in the 19th century the character of a purely philanthropic measure, having been transformed into a *de facto* tax, collected for the benefit of the local secular authorities. The tsarist administration did its best to suppress this practice in territories under its control, replacing it with its own system of taxes. Today, nothing seems to remain of the *zakat* in Soviet Central Asia. The practice had no deep roots to begin with; the population is too impoverished to keep it up; and there is no one to collect it. Almost none of the refugees even knew the meaning of the term *zakat*, and upon being informed, denied ever seeing it practiced.

● 788 177 Finally, there is the obligation of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj*. Of all the duties incumbent upon a Muslim this is the one most difficult to fulfill under Soviet conditions, inasmuch as the regime forbids travel of private citizens abroad for any purpose whatsoever. Occasionally, as in 1953, the Soviet government itself dispatches to Mecca official delegations headed by government-appointed muftis and shaykhs, but it is quite obvious that such delegations consist only of carefully screened individuals, liberally interspersed with employees of the security police, and that their primary purpose is not religion but foreign propaganda. For the private individual, the road to Mecca is barred. It appears, however, that pilgrimages to the graves of local saints continue to be popular, and in some sense may serve as a substitute for the forbidden *hajj*.

Thus, of the four practices which constitute the central elements of the Islamic ritual, the five Pillars of the Faith (the fifth being the profession of faith), one (prayer) is almost entirely neglected by the younger and middle-age groups, one (fasting) is observed rarely and even then imperfectly, and two (*zakat* and *hajj*) have completely disappeared. Religious *ritual* thus may be said to have declined considerably and no longer

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to play an important role in the life of the Central Asian Muslims of the Soviet Union.

Let us now turn to other Islamic customs and practices. Circumcision appears from the interviews to be almost universally observed by Central Asian Muslims. One of the reasons for its prevalence is its tolerance by the regime, caused by the fact that this practice requires neither abstention from work nor the transfer of personal allegiance from the state to the religion, and in fact may be justified by hygenic reasons. It is performed by mendicant "specialists," who visit villages and towns, or by anyone else skilled in the use of appropriate instruments, such as local barbers. Communist Party members and other persons in positions of responsibility who may be incriminated in the eyes of the regime by observing this practice, send their children to relatives away from home, where they can be circumcised without the knowledge of the local authorities. Circumcision seems to have lost its festive character, and is carried out so as to attract the minimum attention. Its prevalence among all layers of Muslim society, including Communist Party members, has been attested to by every one of the refugees interviewed.

The religious ceremonies attending births, weddings, and burials require the presence of religiously trained figures such as the mullahs, and it is the great shortage of such persons which more than any factor deprives them of their religious character. The vast majority of mullahs and other Muslim leaders disappeared during the terror of 1928–32. Careful questioning of refugees revealed that in some villages and towns mullahs did remain all throughout the 1930's. These "hidden mullahs" earned their livelihood as ordinary workers (e.g., kolkhoz laborers, night watchmen, etc.) and often as janitors in mosques and other religious buildings, but when the occasion arose could also conduct religious ceremonies if the latter were organized by trusted friends and within a closed family circle. Almost every one of the refugees interviewed remembered either knowing of such a clandestine mullah or of having heard of one. But they are few and live under the perpetual threat of exposure and arrest; hence, they cannot make a great impression on the religious life of their communities. Where there is need for persons with religious training, the natives are far more likely to use the services of an elderly layman from their own midst than risk engaging a person who is difficult to locate and may involve them in trouble with the authorities.

As a consequence of the disappearance of the religious leaders, births, weddings, and burials appear to have largely lost their religious complexion and become transformed into occasions for mere family gatherings. The entire institution of betrothal — which will be described at greater length below — conforms closely to secular local traditions, but is no longer accompanied by religious ceremonies. Occasionally, refugees indicate, after

361 the laws of Confucius. Each lad has a book in
346 his hand, but they all study together, shouting, similar to the way it is done in Jewish and Moslem schools.

The chapel itself is housed in a dark but quite spacious room. The furnishings are strongly reminiscent of a Catholic church. By the front wall there is a large altar, set with various viands, church lamps and vessels from which smoke issues forth. Behind the altar as well as along the side walls there are images of a dragon. The figures of saints are distinguished by their corpulence and rotundity. Flags are hung along the walls like banners.
●188 Finally, bells are hung up near the altar. The divine service is carried out by a dirty and ragged personage, who, with a bundle of smoldering candles in his hands, and accompanied by measured beating of the bells, makes endless bows, to the ground and halfway to the ground as he approaches and retires from the sacrificial table or altar.

On important occasions, instead of spoken prayers they burn little pieces of paper with written prayers or wishes, in the belief that prayers born up in this manner reach God more quickly. (1)

1. There is still another original way of praying. They fasten a small piece of paper to a wheel, with a prayer written on it. The wheel turns about quickly, and each turn of the wheel is considered as a whole prayer, separately uttered.